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No 3, March 1990

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Correct Use of Lenin's Ideas on a Socialist Model

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 1-7

[Published in FBIS-EAS-90-091, 10 May 90 pp 42-44]

Allocation and Use of Cadres

902E0216A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 8-10

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Huong, deputy head of the
Organization Department of the Central Committee]

[Text] Since 1976, our country's revolution has shifted to a new stage. In allocating and using the cadres, along with the correct things that have been done, there have also been many shortcomings, and mistakes have been made. The political report of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee at the Sixth National Congress of Delegates pointed out that "selecting cadres and appointing them to the various echelon leadership and management organizations still bears some of the old viewpoints. Some of the standards used are incorrect. This is done in too formal a manner, and this does not start from the requirements of the political tasks and work."

In renovation, the decisive thing is to appoint and use cadres correctly, particularly leadership and management cadres at all echelons, from the central echelon to the primary level. On this problem, the resolution of the 5th Plenum of the CPV Central Committee (Sixth Term) pointed out that the urgent requirements are: Cadres must be rearranged and appointed in a rational manner. Conservative and slow cadres who do not understand and who have not changed in accord with the renovation viewpoint, who do not have the knowledge and capabilities to carry on renovation in their work sphere, who do not have talents, who are opportunistic and authoritarian, who oppress lower echelons, who are cliquish, who do not lead a wholesome life, who use their powers to steal state and collective property, and who are hated by the masses must be expelled from their positions.

The above spirit must be understood thoroughly. In allocating and using cadres, the following main themes must be adhered to strictly:

Arrange people to fit the job. Don't assign jobs to suit the wishes of people. The main task in allocating and using cadres is to satisfy the requirements of the work and not to satisfy the needs of individual cadres. The requirement of the work must be satisfied. In renovation, an urgent requirement is to soon dismiss those cadres who lack sufficient capabilities to carry out the tasks and replace them with cadres who have the ability to carry out the tasks in accord with the renovation requirements. For many years, in allocating and using cadres, along with the correct aspects, there have also been many cases in which the "work has been arranged to suit the wishes of people." For example, cadres with very limited capabilities who scored many achievements in the past

had to be given corresponding positions in order to satisfy the policy. Cadres who have exhibited shortcomings and lacked prestige in one place have been transferred to another place and given the same position. Sometimes, they have even been promoted. Individual sympathy and localism have had a great influence on assigning and allocating cadres. Assigning and using cadres in ways that do not start from the requirements of the work and that do not consider the effects of this is something that must be overcome.

In carrying on renovation, there must be a capable cadre in charge of each position in order to ensure that the tasks are completed in an outstanding manner. Thus, it is clear that before appointing cadres to a position, the tasks, functions, and important characteristics of that position must be studied carefully in order to choose the right cadres. When examining cadres for positions, besides the standards concerning political standards, work behavior, and way of life, their knowledge, capabilities, and experience concerning that position must be examined carefully. In appointing cadres, the question is: Do they have sufficient knowledge and capabilities and the aptitude to carry out the work? Every effort must be made to avoid appointing and using cadres because of "policies," because of individual sympathies, or because of structural maintenance.

The relationship between the requirements of the work and the cadres, the relationship between maintaining the standards and implementing the policies, and the relationship between maintaining the standards and implementing the structural requirements are all related to each other. When you talk about the requirements of the work, you are talking about the requirement of maintaining the standards. Only by giving attention to the standards will it be possible to appoint people based on the work. In appointing cadres, if too much attention is focused on implementing the policies and maintaining the structure, it will not be possible to maintain the standards. For example, if a business unit puts cadres in charge and they do not have the necessary knowledge, capabilities, and aptitude concerning business, it cannot be said that the unit has appointed cadres based on the requirements of the work.

Appointing and using cadres is related to readying cadres based on the plans. The ranks of cadres expand based on a specific law. As one generation of cadres grows old, it is replaced by another generation of cadres. This process repeats itself over and over. Today, we have three generations of cadres: the generation that participated in the revolution before August 1945, the generation that participated in the resistances against both France and America, and the generation that has matured since 1975 after the country was completely liberated. In general, the first two generations of cadres have retired or are about to retire. Thus, in allocating and using cadres, besides carrying out the political tasks well, another requirement is to prepare the ranks of cadres who will succeed them.

For a long time now, one of the shortcomings in cadre work has been that the cadres have not been allocated or used in accord with the cadre plans. As a result, there have been many cases in which cadres have been appointed to the wrong sector and position and not in accord with the requirements of the work. Because of not tying the appointment and use of cadres to the cadre plans, there are many cadres in the plans, but they are not familiar with the positions for which they will be responsible. When they are actually assigned tasks, they often become confused and are sometimes unable to do the job. Experience shows that the best way to train the cadres is to employ and use cadres in accord with their capabilities and aptitudes and gradually assign them more and more difficult tasks so that they can mature and carry out the tasks. In this way, the cadres will mature quickly based on the plans. For example, to train a cadre to serve as a minister, before he can undertake that position, he must first have held the position of director general. Carrying out the tasks of a director general will give him a basis for carrying out the tasks of a minister. To train a cadre for the position of provincial chief, he must first serve as a district chief, director of a service, or deputy province chief. Among the themes of cadre renovation, there is a specialization requirement. A political leadership cadre cannot be assigned economic management tasks. A cadre skilled in the work of one sector cannot suddenly be put in charge of the work of another sector if he has never been trained in that work. The formula of employing and using cadres on the spot, from the bottom up, and in the sector is aimed at that target.

Every cadre who undertakes a task must go through three stages: Learning the task, becoming familiar with the task, and becoming an expert in the task. No cadre who has just been assigned a task can become an expert immediately unless that cadre has previously served as deputy or acting chief. It will take other cadres a certain period of time to master the work. Because of this, it is essential to ensure succession in a leadership and management cadre collective. There must be coordination between the old cadres and the new cadres, between the elderly cadres and the younger cadres, and between those who are skilled in the work and those who are new to the work. Having three generations of cadres in a collective will enable them to support each other in carrying out the work.

It is not good to leave a cadre in a position too long or to replace him too soon. If a cadre holds a leadership or

management position too long, this often leads to empiricism, subjectivism, and paternalism. And if a cadre is removed after holding the position for just a few years, he will not be able to manifest an effect. He will not have had time to understand things and arrange the plans in order to implement his plans. Of course, if a cadre has too many shortcomings, he must be replaced immediately.

Cadres must be rotated in a planned way, and cadres must be turned into specialists. These two tasks do not conflict with each other. On the contrary, this will enable the cadres to advance. If a cadre has held a technical job in a central sector for a long time, to train him to become a leading cadre, he must be put in charge of a locality or base in order to enable him to improve his practical organizational skills. Conversely, a cadre who has served as a leading cadre in a locality for a long time will have very limited knowledge concerning things in general. He must be assigned a task in a central organization to enable him to understand the country's work as a whole. When rotating cadres, attention must be given to the technical capabilities and aptitudes of each person in order to assign him a suitable job and exploit his capabilities and experiences. Today, in assigning and using leadership and management cadres, we are not yet rotating cadres based on the plans. This is a shortcoming that must be overcome soon.

Particular attention must be given to appointing heads of units, regardless of whether this is a small unit or a district, province, or ministry. The top cadre in a sector, locality, or unit must above all enjoy sufficient prestige to assemble the intelligence of the collective. That person will have prestige only when he has the necessary qualities and capabilities. In this, attention must be given above all to honesty, democratic nature, and intelligence in cadre policies. Experience shows that if the head cadre is not honest, democratic, or intelligent in cadre work, even though he may be very knowledgeable and capable, he will not be able to attract cadres, and his prestige will decline. He may not be able to carry out the work and may just cause greater internal disruption.

Cadres are valuable assets. They are the root of every task. Regardless of the policy or task, if there are good cadres, that policy or task will be carried out well. Whether or not renovating cadre work achieves results will be determined in large part by how well the talents of the cadres are exploited and whether their talents are used properly. If cadres are not allocated and used correctly, not only will this affect completing the revolutionary tasks of the party, but this will also result in the country's talents being wasted.

Scientific Debate on 'The Problem of Democracy in Our Country—Reality and Solutions'

What is Democracy

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 11-14

[Article by Nguyen Dan Quang; not translated]

The Basic Themes of Democracy

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 14-17

[Article by Nguyen Dang Quang; not translated]

The Concept of Democracy, Differences and Similarities Between Bourgeois Democracy and Socialist Democracy

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 18-19

[Article by Pham Ngoc Quang; not translated]

Democracy and the State Ensuring the Implementation of Democracy

902E0216B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 19-22

[Article by Nguyen Van Thao, director of the Law Institute, Ministry of Justice]

[Text] Democracy is tied to equality, justice, and freedom, and so it is also tied to the state and to the state's job of implementing democracy.

In the history of the formation of states, in every case, the first task done in order to gain the confidence of the masses has been to announce human rights and promise that measures will be implemented to protect these rights.

In the final analysis, the strength of the state is based on the people, citizens who have inborn expectations concerning their rights.

The thirst for freedom, the primary hope of people concerning a just and orderly society and concerning their rights, arises naturally and remains forever. This is fully in accord with the main ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The key concept of Marxism is the liberation of man. This is in accord with humanism and the struggle to build socialism and communism in the world, because the end target of these things is "for man and his rights."

In socialism, the essential elements of socialist transformation, the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist democracy, a planned commodity production economy, a self-governing society, and so on are

the measures and means (and not just the targets) to reach a single goal: for man.

During the past several decades of building socialism, the party, state, and people have scored achievements in building and developing human rights. A striking thing has been the effort to bring about equality between men and women and among the various ethnic groups, give people the right to study and obtain medical treatment, and give people a number of other democratic rights.

However, there are still many shortcomings, particularly in understanding human rights.

In the relationship between the state and the people, there is still a tendency to make the role of the state "absolute." People feel that there is a lack of equality concerning rights and obligations between the state organizations and citizens. It seems that only citizens have "obligations" while "rights" belong to the state organizations. This idea has been strengthened by the fact that a number of state organizations have violated the physical and property ownership rights of citizens. Recently, even though specific statutes have been included in the criminal code and criminal trial code, these things continue to happen. Based on the viewpoint that "responsibilities can be waived" (meaning violations of the law would result from being unlucky or from starting from the common interests), many organizations have escaped being investigated for criminal violations. Thus, even though citizens have been unjustly punished, the state organizations are always right. Because of a lack of protection and respect, the role of the people has been eclipsed.

The distinction between citizens who work in different economic sectors has, over a long period of time, led to a spontaneous division of people in society into various types such as "leading citizens," "secondary citizens," and so on. This, in turn, has led to distinctions in conduct and treatment policies.

Because the flaws in understanding concerning human rights have not been eliminated, even though our state apparatus has been improved, it still lacks the necessary statutes to ensure that human rights are implemented well.

Based on the above, in this article, I will concentrate on a number of proposals concerning the state apparatus aimed at ensuring the implementation of the human rights stipulated in our 1980 constitution.

On the National Assembly

Human rights must be implemented above all by state laws. The National Assembly, the people's highest representative organization, has a very important and practical role. The National Assembly must quickly be turned into a full-time organization that operates regularly. Delegates to the National Assembly must not work concurrently for the government or for prosecution or control organizations. Only if the National Assembly

operates regularly will it be able to examine things and quickly promulgate laws. (We need many more laws.)

The National Assembly must switch from simply discussing things to actually debating issues in order to examine and solve the problems submitted to it by the government, National Assembly delegates, or other organizations with jurisdiction.

According to the principle of democratic centralism and the system of people's representatives, the National Assembly must switch from operating solely based on the local group to operating based on coordinating the group and the individual credentials of each representative, the local group and each separate occupational circle and sex, and so on. If it operates using this coordinated style, the National Assembly will hear many voices and learn of various aspirations when examining possible solutions and choosing plans.

There must be a change of direction in the control activities of the National Assembly. It must concentrate on legal control in the activities of the government. This control function must be entrusted to a competent organization appointed by the National Assembly. The control activities of the National Assembly should be based on the methods of the state inspection organizations or other administrative organizations.

To shift the activities of the National Assembly in accord with the above themes, there must be renovation in the National Assembly's election system. An elected National Assembly must have the intelligence to make decisions on the important problems of the country.

On the government

The government is the highest administrative organization. Thus, its activities often touch on the problems of democracy and human rights. To implement human rights effectively based on reality, this must be done through the activities of the governmental organizations.

The government must shift the direction of its activities. It must switch from being an organization that guides the state enterprises through ministries and local people's committees to being an organization that guides these enterprises through tax and judicial organizations using a legal system.

The government must shift from administrative type activities to strategic activities. It must formulate the national budget, draft regulations, and regulate the markets at the macrocosmic level using credit, tax, and currency tools, major policies on strategic goods, and reserve forces large enough to regulate the country's markets. The number of people in the government—the center that regulates economic, social, foreign affairs, national defense, and other matters—should not be too large. There must be a rational number of people. Management must be synchronized and all-round rather than being slanted toward economic affairs. In order to use all the manpower for administrative and control

tasks, in general, members of the government should not serve as National Assembly delegates. This will also help ensure that the National Assembly has real power in monitoring and questioning the government and strengthen the government's responsibility to the National Assembly.

On Managing the State Using Laws

No one denies the need to manage society using laws. However, there are many differences of opinion concerning the nature and role of the law.

Our country's situation has left negative marks in our thinking in general and in our legal thinking in particular. I am referring to thinking that slights the law; a poorly developed legal culture; a concept of doing things in secret, which leads to localism in the style of "imperial power bends to local customs"; a concept of using "doctrine" and "personal rule" to manage things; a feudal class concept in implementing and administering the laws; and the idea that one is outside or even above the laws.

Today's reality shows that socialist laws play a major role in organization and construction. The laws effectively guarantee human rights. The law is a concept (looking at its nature) that is closely related to democracy.

There can be no democracy without laws and vice versa. A democratic country will have a legal system. A country that lacks a legal system cannot be a fully democratic country.

Democratic rights must be affirmed in the legal system. Through the laws, democratic rights will be concretized. The laws must be directed toward democracy, and democracy must be guaranteed by laws. The goal to which the laws of a socialist society are moving is a socialist democracy.

Managing a country using laws requires building a state based on law. This reminds us of three important problems:

1. The state organizations must use the laws as the basis for their activities.
2. State organizations at all echelons are subject to state control. If a state organization, even one at the highest echelon, violates the law, it must be punished harshly.
3. The responsibilities of the state organizations to the people must be carried out. Citizens have the right to sue a state organization that has damaged them. They can sue in the court that has jurisdiction.

Building a Socialist Democracy From What?

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 22-24

[Article by Nguyen Chinh; not translated]

On the Process of Building a Socialist Democracy in Our Country

902E0216C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 25-27

[Article by Khong Doan Hoi, Deputy director of the Institute of Scientific Socialism, Marxist-Leninist Institute]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The thing worth noting is that just because the socioeconomic situation is undergoing complex changes and just because there are still violations of democracy, we should not forget the basic points or mistakenly think that bourgeois democracy is higher than socialist democracy or that capitalism is superior to socialism. To advance to a higher form of democracy, it is essential to follow its natural historical development. Socialist democracy must be a process of building the material, technical, and cultural preconditions so that the people can gradually become involved in managing the state. It will be impossible to avoid making mistakes (leftist deviations and dogmatism) unless people have a profound and concrete understanding of the special characteristics of the process of socialist democratization in our country.

Even more important is to grasp the starting point of that process. From where did we begin and with what material, technical, cultural, and human conditions?

We began the process of socialist democratization in a society that bore the scars of feudalism and colonialism (including neocolonialism), that was without democratic traditions and practices (even bourgeois democracy), and that was based on a backward economy. Small-scale production was widespread. The economic and social structure was composed of many different elements and social classes. And even now, the level of culture and civilization is, in general, still low.

Because of the special characteristics of the age and with these economic and social conditions, we can and must make a leap forward from a society lacking democracy to a new democratic system—socialist democracy—bypassing bourgeois democracy. This "leap" will take time. This will even take longer than building the material and technical base of socialism. Obviously, this is a very difficult and complex process. We cannot become impatient. We must be independent and creative. The long-term nature of this requires that we formulate suitable targets, tasks, and steps. We cannot do tomorrow's work today or vice versa. The ultimate goal of democracy is to enable each person to control every aspect of social life. To reach that still distant goal, we

must set practical goals. In our view, today's goal is to liberate the potential of each patriotic Vietnamese who loves socialism, greatly expand the production forces, stabilize society, and gradually build the material and technical base of socialism. Thus, today, democracy is viewed as a tool or means. During the initial conditions of democracy, there are times when we will not be able to move beyond the boundaries of bourgeois democracy, and there will be times when we will imitate bourgeois democracy. But everything will still have the character of socialist democracy. This is the dialectic of history.

In order to democratize socialism in our country today, the following tasks are fundamental, urgent, and practical:

1. In providing cultural and ideological education, particular attention must be given to teaching democratic culture, specifically:

Studying democracy and living in democratic conditions.

In strengthening the teaching of democratic culture, there must be a struggle against vices and deviations starting from the past and today.

The education provided must be simple and easily understood by the masses. The contents must include such things as respect for individual freedoms, individuality, equality in distribution, and the right to improve one's life.

2. Socialist democracy must be tied to the economic revolution and to renovation of ownership concepts.

Looking at the order of things, democratizing our country must be tied to shifting the revolution from a self-sufficient economy with a simple commodity production to a socialist commodity economy. Because this is a rather complex shift, there must be transitional steps in the democratic process.

Studying democracy and becoming familiar with today's democratic conditions also means studying and becoming familiar with commodity production and socialist business. Commodity production and business (whether socialist or not) have their own laws. And economic laws affect controlling the democratization process.

3. In building a socialist democracy in our country's present conditions, we must concentrate on reforming the political system in general and the state in particular. Our state must be a juridical state that is stronger than bourgeois juridical states.

Research

Leninism—The Bright Torch of Vietnam and All Eastern Nations

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 28-32

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Le; not translated]

Planning and Expanding Market Relationships

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 33-37, 72

[Article by Pham Tat Thang; not translated]

Exchange of Opinions

The Right To Stick to One's Opinions

902E0216D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 38-40

[Article by Tuan Minh]

[Text] Something that is recognized is that rights must be respected. The right to stick to one's opinions is not a new problem. This problem did not arise just during the period of renovation. It is mentioned many times in the party's statutes. The statutes revised and supplemented by the Sixth Party Congress clearly state that all party members "must implement the party's resolutions unconditionally. But if they disagree with some point, they can voice their opinion to the party's leading organization for discussion at the National Congress of Delegates" (Article 3). A right that has been publicly announced and legalized like this must be regarded as legitimate, and it must be respected. However, to date, if a party member sticks to an opinion, he is regarded as someone who "has a problem" and as a bad person. He may even be regarded as a protester even though he has adhered strictly to the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of the minority submitting to the majority. Another point is that those ideas are ignored and discarded. No one wants to promote that idea, and no organization will consider or discuss the idea in order to clarify the problem.

From the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, it is rare for people to all agree on some problem when it is first raised (meaning real unanimity and not superficial or formal unanimity). There may be major problems about which there is agreement on the general direction but about which there is disagreement on ways of looking at the issue and specific solutions. In both society and the party, it is quite normal for people to hold different opinions if we really respect freedom of thought and freedom to express one's opinions. Only through discussion and argument can the differences between the various opinions be gradually eliminated. This is the only way to bring about unanimity and clarify the truth.

It's common to say that the ideas of the majority are usually correct and that the ideas of the minority are usually wrong. But this is not always true, particularly when the ideas of the majority have not been discussed and debated democratically. Historical reality as well as revolutionary practices have shown that there have been situations in which the individual rather than the collective has been right and in which the minority rather than the majority have been correct. In scientific discoveries, when first proposed, many ideas proposed by an individual have been rejected by society as a whole. But later on, objective reality has proven that his ideas were completely correct. Today, every Grade 1 student knows that the earth is round and that it revolves around the sun. But during the Middle Ages, those who proposed such ideas faced execution, because the powerholders believed firmly in the Catholic dogmas, which said that the earth was flat and that it remained stationary in the middle of the universe.

In the 20th Century, there are certainly no terrible dogmas like that. But there are still major differences. In our country, most people are in agreement on the major problems. But there are differences of opinion. The point to note is that previously, there were minority views that were rejected and even condemned. But today, life is like a truth that needs no discussion. For example:

The system of product contracts for each peasant household in the agricultural cooperatives: This was proposed several decades ago in Vinh Phu but was rejected totally. After that, this had to be "slipped in" in rural Haiphong and a number of other places. But today, this is regarded as an innovation that has brought excellent results.

The policy of allowing private commercial production has been debated for many years, and this idea has always been the minority view. At times, people have advocated allowing this in the south but not in the north. At times, people have advocated engaging only in light industry and prohibiting commercial business activities. Everyone knows what the present reality is.

Having the state monopolize commerce and distribution has been a law for a long time. Those who have suggested raising this question again have been strongly criticized. Today, everyone can clearly see the effect that keeping grain circulation in accord with the law and prohibiting marketing have had on supply and the state's grain reserves.

Previously, some people proposed having socialist countries invest in Vietnam in order to help us step up socialist construction. That view was regarded as tantamount to selling our national sovereignty. But today, our country's Investment Law has opened the country to all countries, including capitalist countries. This is regarded as a powerful renovation.

Reality has shown that not every minority view is wrong. Even though some ideas have not been accepted by the majority, they should still be examined scientifically and

objectively without bias. This is because some of those ideas may contain new and correct discoveries.

The question is what to do to ensure that minority ideas are respected and that these opinions and those who hold them aren't abused. Simply recognizing this right in the statutes or a few resolutions is not enough. There must be public and clear regulations on this. It must be admitted that we have still not managed to eliminate bureaucratic centralism. Undemocratic phenomena in political activities have not been completely eliminated. There are still oppressive paternalistic customs. Different ideas are not debated thoroughly. Because of this, many of the ideas contributed boldly and honestly with a constructive spirit have been ignored by the organizations and cadres responsible.

To stick to your opinions means to maintain your position even after the majority has made its decision. Of course, it would be wrong for a person who holds a minority viewpoint to publicly print his ideas in the press and publicly disseminate documents to explain and praise his views in order to get more people to side with him. But why can't a person who holds such views discuss them with other people in order to see if his ideas are right or wrong? Why, after an idea has been rejected by the majority, can it be discussed or debated at scientific conferences or debates at research organizations and institutes? Why is it that "only I know that my idea is good" or that people are allowed to express their ideas only at the party chapter where they live even though the party members there may not have the same level of understanding with respect to that problem or be interested in that problem? There should be stipulations to allow people with minority views to express their views to the organizations or cadres responsible or to send documents to the people and echelons with jurisdiction so that the ideas of these people can be considered without prejudice. After that, there can be a clear response as to whether the ideas are right or wrong. If they still haven't been persuaded, those sticking to their opinions can be allowed to hold their views as long as the principle of democratic centralism is respected. What is needed is not to crudely dismiss a minority opinion, crush it, the sooner the better, or invalidate an opinion. Rather, people must continue to listen, try and persuade the other through logical reasoning, and even accept that view if it is correct. If that idea is in fact wrong, the person who holds that view must be made to see that he is wrong. Conversely, if his idea is correct, the leadership

echelon must review the things stipulated in order to revise and supplement the stipulations. Moreover, those who have made correct discoveries must be praised and rewarded. That will manifest political equality and fairness. That shows respect for the right to freedom of thought of people in general and cadres and party members in particular. That is a way to encourage each person to think freely, to seek the truth, and to prevent others from monopolizing the truth.

Another problem is how to handle organizational aspects with respect to people who hold minority views. There has never been a document stipulating that people who continue to stick to their opinions must be dealt with on the organizational front. But in reality, the problem is very complex. The question is, Should a person who sticks to his opinions be dismissed, relieved of his duties, reduced in rank, or given another job? Usually, people who stick to their opinions are dealt with for some other "legitimate" reason, and no one criticizes this. Of course, there is no need to discuss cases in which such people are disciplined for engaging in factional activities. But if that person is a good party member and has a concept of organization and discipline, if his only "crime" is sticking to his opinions and he is dealt with in an organizational way, that is, if his ideas are invalidated and he is "left hanging in the wind," those involved in this have not recognized his right to stick to his opinions. Because such "underground" methods of dealing with these people have been used, honest people who want to stick to their opinions often don't dare to do so. Instead, they quickly "withdraw their opinions" in order to reduce the tension. This leads to a situation in which there is ideological unanimity on the outside, which easily generates opportunism. People "go with the tide" on the ideological front. Some people have suffered greatly when they "dared" to stick to their opinions.

In summary, if people respect people's right to stick to their opinions, they will not persecute those who stick to their opinions in any way. The most precious thing and also the greatest strength of the party is unanimity of will power and action based on ideological unanimity. But there cannot be real ideological unanimity without sufficient ideological freedom. And if there is ideological freedom, there will certainly be democratic discussions and debates. Once there is ideological freedom, the right to stick to one's opinions will be accepted, and there will not be any prejudice.

President Ho Chi Minh and Selecting Socialist Construction Targets in Vietnam

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 41-45

[Article by Than Duy; not translated]

Natural Forests and the Environment—Thoughts and Proposals

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 46-50

[Article by Nguyen Van Truong; not translated]

The Added Value Tax and Its Use in Reforming Our Country's Tax System

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 51-56

[Article by Nguyen Sam; published in FBIS-EAS-90-089,
8 May 90, pp 52-53]

Exploiting the Scientific and Technical Potential of the Colleges in Order To Support Production and Life

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 57-62

[Article by Nguyen Van Than; not translated]

Renovating the Activities of the Women's Association

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 63-66

[Article by Phuong Thao; not translated]

The Youth Union and Expanding the Party

902E0216E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 67-72

[Article by Nguyen Duy Hung, secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee]

[Text] With the credentials of a revolutionary assault unit and the reserve force of the party, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has determined that one of its responsibilities is to participate in building the party. This is also a great honor for it. In particular, it is supplying people to reinforce the ranks of young party members and cadres. This is a problem with the nature of a law, and it has great traditional significance. Reality shows that each year, the union has selected tens of thousands of superior youth union members and recommended them for party membership. Of all the people recruited into the party each year, the percentage of youth union members has constantly increased. In 1970, the percentage was 69.5 percent. In 1974 it was 87.7 percent. In 1985 it was 94.4 percent, and in the army it was almost 100 percent. In the seven years from 1980 to

1987, the youth union selected and recommended 1,545,924 youth union members for party membership. Of these 471,212 were recruited into the party. This was equal to 83 percent of the total number of people recruited into the party during that period.

In general, in expanding the party, many party committee echelons and party bases have clearly recognized the position and role of the youth union, and they have relied on the youth union. They have formulated plans to propagandize, educate, and train the youth union members to struggle in line with the party. Many union organizations have manifested their functions, actively made suggestions, and formulated plans to coordinate things with the party committee echelons and party organizations in improving youth union members' understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the party. They have regularly recommended outstanding members for examination and recruitment by the party.

However, along with this, it must be admitted that many youth union echelons, particularly youth union organizations at the primary level, do not fully understand the role and position of the youth union. They are not aware of their responsibilities in expanding the party. They often remain passive, and do not have active plans to train, select, and recommend outstanding party members for the party. There is apprehension and an inability to discuss things with the party organizations. Youth union members do not take the initiative in proposing ideas to party committee echelons. Many places have not given any attention to training and educating the youths or encouraging them to strive to grow and become party members. Most youth union organizations are familiar only with proposing that party committee echelons open political training classes for union members who are party targets. But they are not concerned about educating all the youth union members about the party, providing them with concepts, and encouraging them to strive to become party members. In many places, weak youth union cadres at the primary level have not been given training in order to help them meet the standards and teach them the principles and procedures for recruitment into the party. As a result, there is confusion, and they can't fulfill this responsibility. Our youth union members in general feel a great affinity for the party, and they have a deep desire to join the party. But a large percentage still have shortcomings. For example, their motivation for joining the party is wrong, they lack knowledge, they frequently become pessimistic and discouraged, or they are mean-spirited or "pull each other by the sleeve" when examining and recommending outstanding union members to the party.

As for the party organizations, many party committee echelons do not fully understand the role and position of the youth union. They provide just general leadership, stressing mobilizing and calling on youths to complete their tasks. They slight training youth union members and enabling them to mature. In expanding the party, few party committee echelons have given attention to relying on the youth union. They have not gone through

the union organizations to train the active union members. A number of cadres and party members do not really understand youths. They give them incorrect evaluations, and they even set a bad example for youths. This has had a serious effect on the thinking and will power of the youths and reduced their confidence in the party.

Those are the basic and direct reasons that explain why the rate of party development among youths has slowed, particularly among worker and peasant youths and socialist intellectuals. Surveys have shown that in the rural zones, the majority of youth union members want to join the party, but only about 15 percentage are actually recruited into the party. In reality, in the rural areas there have been many cases of "recruiting friends and family" into the party. In some places, the party belongs to one family in the village. The same is true in the industrial sector. According to data collected in a number of locations, about 25-40 percent of the worker youths believe that they will fulfill their dream of entering the party. But the actual percentage of those who do fulfill this dream is less than one percent. The situation is not much brighter among young intellectuals. In one ward in Hanoi, during the past two years, 217 young intellectuals were recommended for recruitment into the party, but only 29 were actually recruited. In general, during the past 13 years, the rate of party expansion among youths has become very alarming, that is, the rate has declined 11-13 percent.

Youth union members play a very important role in expanding the party. In order to contribute to satisfying the party building requirements along with completing the tasks of today's renovation movement, youth union echelons must improve their concept of responsibility and become more active in participating in expanding the party.

Above all, it must be thoroughly understood that the basic functions of the youth union are to teach youths revolutionary ideals and build a youth union that is the political and social organization of youths and the combat reserve force of the party.

Youth union members are young communists who have been organized, educated, and trained by the party and union. Almost all youths are eager to join the party. This is the main source for supplying the party with young forces who have an awareness of socialist and communist ideals, who have cultural and scientific and technical standards, who can reinvigorate the party, and who can satisfy the need to raise the leadership capabilities and increase the combat strength of the party and carry on the movement to renovate the country in accord with the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress.

In expanding the party, reality has shown that in places where the party and youth union have given attention to educating the youths about socialist ideals, classes, and the party and training them in the revolutionary movements of the masses, those places have not lacked

outstanding youth union members who are worthy of being recruited into the party.

Because of this, training and educating youth union members and recommending outstanding members for the party must be regarded as one of the responsibilities of the youth union's primary level organizations.

Second, constant attention must be given to increasing the awareness of the youth union members concerning classes, the party, and communist ideals. They must be given help in finding correct motives for wanting to join the party and given guidance in actively striving to become party members.

This is one of the most basic and important problems. In carrying on renovation, which is very difficult and complex, the problems mentioned above are even more important and urgent.

In educating youth union members, the requirement is to give them an awareness of class, party, and communist ideals, ensure that they have good political and moral quality, and provide them with cultural and scientific and technical knowledge and practical skills. To do this, youth union members must be equipped with specific knowledge about Marxism-Leninism, the communist world outlook, the viewpoints and positions of the working class, the ideals of the party, the organizational principles of the party, party member qualifications, and the basic lines and policies of the party. Communist Youth Union members must train regularly and manifest their exemplary vanguard role in carrying out the lines and policies of the party and the policies and laws of the state and in carrying on productive labor, fighting, and studying. In particular, attention must be given to educating members and encouraging them to strive to join the party so that they have concepts and actively strive to mature. Things must be analyzed so that youth union members see clearly that efforts to join the party must be manifested in a resolve to fulfill the party ideals, to put the common interests above one's personal interests, to overcome negative aspects such as a fear of hardships, thoughts of gains and losses, and pessimism when striving to join the party, and to be resolved to struggle against negative phenomena.

Youth union members must be educated and trained to love their socialist country, to have national pride, and to have a spirit of international proletarianism, a sense of loyalty to the revolution, a concept of organization and discipline, a mass viewpoint, and a spirit of being resolved to struggle against negative manifestations and build a new labor behavior and attitude and a civilized and wholesome way of life. At the same time, they must also be equipped with basic knowledge concerning economic management, science and technology, and mass mobilization so that they can use this knowledge in actual work and so that they can serve as the activists in revolutionary movements. There must be specific training programs and contents depending on the specific targets (rural youths, worker youths, or intellectual

youths). The immediate need is to organize a political activities campaign on "Youths and Renovation for the Prosperity and Strength of the Country." This campaign will be launched by the Youth Union Central Committee. Other activities leading up to the hundredth anniversary of the birth of President Ho must be carried on, too.

Many localities and units have good experience in educating and training youth union members. The Thai Binh Provincial CPV (Communist Party of Vietnam) Committee has guided the bases in holding classes on "Basic Knowledge About the Party" for large numbers of youth union members. The Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of National Defense have formulated guidance plans and concentrated on holding short-term political training classes for targeted youth union members sympathetic to the party.

We must carry out the above tasks even better. Besides this, we must develop forms to encourage youth union members and youths to develop awareness and understanding and to study the party's statutes and the history and traditions of the nation and party. Discussions must be organized on the party and President Ho and on exemplary party members. Or "party building youth forums" can be organized to exchange experiences on striving to mature. Through this, things can be monitored and incorrect views can be corrected. At the same time, this will show the party the standards and aspirations of the youth union members.

Manifesting the assault role of youth union members through a revolutionary action movement is a very important form of education and training. From this movement will appear many good people and good works and many progressive models. This will make it possible to manifest and train new factors to promote the movement and select people with sufficient standards for recruitment into the party. The practices of the struggle movement of military youths to be "worthy of being a President Ho soldier," of the emulation movement of the people's public security youths to carry out things based on the six teachings of President Ho, and the teach well and study well emulation movement among students have given us much valuable experience concerning this work.

To enable the youth union to implement the above forms and measures well, the party committee echelons must provide firm leadership and guidance, and the administrative organizations and other mass organizations must provide concrete and practical help.

Third, the active nature of the youth union must be manifested in training and selecting youth union members and recommending outstanding members to the party.

The party statutes contain very clear stipulations about recruiting people into the party. However, the significance of recommending youth union members for recruitment into the party does not lie in the fact that the

youth union is the mass organization of the party or that party expansion must be based on the mass line. Rather, the significance of this is that the youth union is the trustworthy reserve force of the party. Each cadre and youth union member must understand that this is both an honor and an obligation. This is a great responsibility of the youth union toward the party and masses of youths. Thus, with a spirit of doing things in an active, serious, and accurate manner, the youth union bases must recommend outstanding youth union members who have sufficient standards to be examined and recruited by party organizations. The idea "easy for others, easy for us" must be avoided, as must the idea of "clutching to one another" and narrow-minded and envious thinking. Recommending outstanding youth union members to the party is a responsibility of the youth union in building the party. The party chapters and primary level party organizations must strengthen their leadership concerning party expansion in the youth union, create conditions to enable the youth union to actively train, select, and recommend outstanding members to the party, and correctly implement the party recruitment principles and procedures.

In training, selecting, and recommending outstanding youth union members for the party, the youth union echelons and organizations must adhere to and make correct use of the party expansion guidelines and formulas and the standards for selecting people for recruitment into the party based on the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress and the party statutes.

As for guidelines for expanding the party, in today's conditions, those recommended for recruitment into the party must be outstanding people among the worker youths, especially technical workers, and rural youths, outstanding people in the armed forces, and outstanding people among intellectuals who have already been trained and tested in revolutionary mass movements.

Concerning party expansion formulas, many of the party's resolutions have stressed that attention must be given to quality rather than quantity. Party member standards cannot be arbitrarily lowered, and the procedures stipulated must be implemented correctly.

In selecting people for recruitment into the party, the stipulations in the party statutes must be adhered to.

It is very important that people have a thorough understanding of the above stipulations. This will ensure that the youth union echelons, organizations, cadres, and members clearly see the party expansion guidelines, formulas, and objectives and the standards for selecting people for recruitment into the party. This will heighten their concept of responsibility and ensure that they have suitable guidelines, measures, and, in particular, plans for training and recommending outstanding youth union members for party recruitment. This will enable them to have a clear understanding and help them avoid making mistakes.

Implementing the principles, procedures, and regulations on recommending outstanding youth union members for recruitment into the party is an essential task in order to ensure that the mass line is implemented correctly in party building, improve the concept of responsibility of the youth union organizations, cadres, and youth union members, and maintain the quality and standards of those recommended. At the same time, this will strengthen building and consolidating the youth union organizations. Resolute steps must be taken to overcome the situation in which youth union members are recruited into the party without having been recommended by a youth union organization.

Based on regularly educating and training youth union members, the primary level organization must strive to bring order to recommending outstanding youth union members for recruitment into the party. With the help of the party committee echelons, the youth union must organize seminars to exchange experiences concerning training and recommending outstanding youth union members for the party.

Recommending outstanding youth union members for the party is an important task and one of the main responsibilities of the primary level youth union organizations. But the higher-echelon youth union organizations must have full-time cadres monitor things in order to discover and promptly resolve the difficulties in this work.

Fourth, efforts must be concentrated on building and consolidating the primary level youth union organizations, particularly the union chapters.

This is a task of fundamental significance. Reality has shown that to do a good job in training and recommending outstanding youth union members for the party, the primary level organizations and union chapters must be strong. The Youth Union Central Committee must be capable and zealous. Thus, the higher-echelon youth union organizations must direct their attention to the bases and actively train union cadres at the bases so that they carry out the tasks with an enthusiastic and scientific attitude and a lofty spirit of

responsibility. On the other hand, the youth union organizations must regularly make suggestions to the party committee echelons in order to have suitable and effective leadership guidelines and measures that respect the youth union's independence in organizing things.

Reality shows that in places where the party organizations are strong, the youth union organizations are strong, too, and the youth movement is vigorous. Thus, the youth union must actively participate in party building and regard this as one of its important responsibilities. Having youth union members contribute ideas on the leadership of the party chapters and having them criticize party members must become an established practice.

Today, the primary level organizations of the youth union, particularly those in the southern provinces, northern mountainous border areas, and provinces in the Central Highlands, are still weak. In many places, there are fewer youth union members than party members. In a number of localities, the primary level youth union organizations have become paralyzed. Thus, it is suggested that the party committee echelons put young party members in charge of union activities and help the union expand its forces. The youth union organizations and the union echelons must actively educate and train their members and raise their standards on every front. They must give attention to forging solidarity and to assembling youths to carry out the revolutionary tasks in the new stage. In particular, they must promote and effectively carry on the movement "to build strong union chapters" launched by the Youth Union Central Committee. During the movement, outstanding youth union cadres and members who have real awareness and who meet the standards for party recruitment must be selected and recommended for recruitment.

With the initial experiences in carrying out this work, the youth union is making an effort so that in the coming period it can participate more actively and effectively in party building in general and party expansion in particular, be worthy of being the party's reserve force, and be worthy of the party's trust.

Special Privileges and the Country's Laws

902E0216F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 90 pp 73-74

[Letter by Tran Cao, Hanoi]

[Text] The contents of the human rights problem include both labor and retirement based on the general stipulations of the state.

The problem of increasing the effectiveness of the state and the work results of the party, state, and economic organizations requires simplifying the staffs, reducing the size of the organizations, and renovating the cadres.

The state's retirement policy has partially solved the two problems mentioned above. Thus, this policy must be implemented seriously and uniformly throughout the country, at all echelons, and in all sectors from the central echelon to the primary level.

But what is happening in implementing this policy?

To obtain accurate data, perhaps this must be examined using some other method instead of the traditional statistical methods. I would like to mention a few things that are frequently encountered at many organizations so that we can examine them and implement the state's policies more efficiently.

In one Central Committee department, there is a department chief and four deputy chiefs. The department chief and three of the deputy chiefs are over 65 years old. For many years now, because of his age and frequent illnesses, the department chief has been chief in name only. The work has actually been carried out by a "regular deputy." This man has carried out his chief's tasks in an "honest and faceless" manner. Because the department chief has not retired, the three elderly deputy chiefs naturally feel that they can "still do the job." With such an aged leadership apparatus, although the organization continues to "operate as usual," it is clear that the work is not being carried out in a timely manner. The time has come when this situation can no longer be tolerated. Higher echelons must allow the department chief and these three deputy chiefs to "retire from management." They can "retire from management" only. They can still "work" with the credentials of "advisers" or "high-level specialists."

But whom will they advise? No one can answer this question. And what about being "high-level specialists?" In the past, these men were responsible for "general management." They are not specialists in any sense of the word. Furthermore, because all four of these men are still "working," the chief's office, with all its conveniences, has been left untouched. Only his nameplate, which used to hang on the door of his office, has been

removed. Each day, cars still take them there and back at the stipulated time, which means that their travel expenses are still as high as ever.

What are things like at the level of section chief in this department? Six of the eight section chiefs are at least 3-4 years past the age of retirement. Only one has voluntarily "set an example" by agreeing to serve as a high-level specialist. One sees himself as still "in top condition." The other four would "really like to retire but no one has been found to replace them."

These men have all received special permission to "continue working" beyond the age stipulated in the policy. With respect to these men, moving from leadership and management positions "down" to positions as advisers or high-level specialists is a way of "implementing the policy" strictly.

Is it really true that the apparatus of the party and state organizations lack replacement personnel and that elderly leadership cadres in poor health have been compelled to continue "working?" Will moving these leadership and management cadres "down" to positions as advisers and high-level specialists improve the quality of the work? If this continues, in the next few years, our country will have countless advisers and high-level specialists. But they certainly won't be very strong.

Simplifying the staffs, reducing the size of the apparatus, cutting administrative expenses, renovating the cadres, and so on are necessary policies and measures that must be implemented seriously. They are not just nice sounding words and slogans.

Let's look a little lower down. What are things like with respect to the deputy section chiefs and people of equivalent grade in this department? In general, these people have retired at the proper age, but the time of their retirement has been extended two or three times the time period stipulated while "waiting to receive their pension books."

The people below those mentioned above are all ordinary cadres, workers, and civil servants. They are people who "retired" in accord with the procedures and policies currently in effect.

It must also be said that there are a few cadres who, even though they are past retirement age, are still healthy and capable of carry out their jobs well. I feel that these people can be asked to continue working as "collaborators," or they can be asked to sign contracts.

Naturally, there are many other aspects of the state's retirement policies that need to be discussed. But I think that the things that have been stipulated should be enforced strictly and uniformly from top to bottom with respect to all people.

Dong Au: Changes

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 75-77

[Article by Vo Thu Phuong; not translated]

China: The Open Door Economic Policy

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 78-82

[Article by Nguyen Quynh Uyen; not translated]

Lenin Opposed the Cult of Lenin

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 83-86

[Article not translated]

On the Problem of Democratic Centralism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 3, Mar 90 pp 87-88

[Article not translated]

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